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70th ANNIVERSARY
FIRST DÁIL ÉIREANN
See Centre Pages

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SWALLOWING A BRITISH OATH

BY A UNANIMOUS vote Free State Sinn Féin, at their Ard-Fheis of January 27-29, decided to abandon all pretence of Republicanism and accept any oath or declaration demanded by the British government of candidates in the local council elections in the Six Counties next May.

The actual text of the oath or declaration, which is carried on this page, requires those taking it:

1. To disown publicly all organisations banned by the British occupying power including the Irish Republican Army, Cumann na mBan and Fianna Éireann, and

2. To repudiate publicly the right of the Irish people to use force of arms to dislodge the British Occupation Forces from Ireland and establish Irish freedom.

There was not even one dissenting voice to expose this further sell-out of the Republican position in Ireland and not even one person to vote against it. So much for those who said in 1986 that they would "fight" the slide down the constitutional and reformist road "from the inside"! Where are they now?

UNMISTAKEABLE STEPS

To date the unmistakable steps away from the All-Ireland Republic of 1916

APPLICATIONS FOR SPEAKERS AT EASTER COMMEMORATIONS SHOULD BE MADE TO:

AN RÚNAÍ

COISTE CUIMHNEACHÁIN NAÍSIÚNTA
21, SHAW STREET, DUBLIN 2
COMMEMORATION COMMITTEES ARE
REMINDED TO BOOK BANDS EARLY
EASTER LILIES ARE NOW
AVAILABLE

PRICE £15 PER 1,000 FROM:
PEIG KING, 29, ALL SAINTS PARK,
RAHENY, DUBLIN 5
HONOUR IRELAND'S DEAD
WEAR AN EASTER LILY!

I declare that, if elected, I will not by word or deed express support for or approval of—

- (a) any organisation that is for the time being a proscribed organisation specified in Schedule 2 to the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act 1978; or
- (b) acts of terrorism (that is to say, violence for political ends) connected with the affairs of Northern Ireland.

• The text of the oath from the published British "Elected Authorities (Northern Ireland) Act".

and 1919 have been as follows:

1. Acceptance of the 26-county state and its institutions at the Ard-Fheis of 1986;

2. Registering at Leinster House as a Free State political party in 1987.

3. Applying to the 26-county police for permits to sell Easter Lilies in 1988 (which met with refusal);

4. Asking the British Crown Forces for permission to march to the graves of Irish men and Irish women whom the same Crown Forces have killed;

5. Making submissions (defined as "referring deferentially to arbitration") to the British government and the Dublin administration in their review of the workings of the Hillsborough Deal;

6. Instructing Irish political prisoners in English jails to cease demanding repatriation to the Six Counties, i.e. return to their own country, and ask instead for re-allocation within the so-called United Kingdom;

7. Voting unanimously to swallow any British oath or declaration, thereby making a mockery of political morality and dishonouring the memory of those who died rather than accept such oaths to a foreign power.

Of course it did not go unnoticed that the latter decision was taken on the actual anniversary of one of the most traumatic events in recent Irish history — the massacre of 14 unarmed Irish citizens by British paratroopers in Derry on Bloody Sunday, 1972.

The exercise in political hypocrisy at

Dublin's Mansion House took place one short week after the same people presumed to commemorate the First Dáil at which Cathal Brugha as Ceann Comhairle and all the elected Deputies stood and declared solemnly: "we accept the Declaration of Independence and pledge ourselves to make it effective by every means in our power".

Meanwhile the media concentrated with glee on the explicit criticism of the military wing of Free State Sinn Féin — the first time ever at an Ard-Fheis. Will these spokespersons never learn that no amount of public self-abasement or self-flagellation will satisfy the pro-British elements in radio, television and the press.

Full acceptance of the status quo — including British rule in Ireland — and nothing else will abate the hostility of the media. Those who abandoned the Republic in 1986 will have to go all the way down the Workers Party road to achieve this. Signs are not lacking that this is their intention — and as such it is being revealed bit by bit.

LONG YEARS

Republicans know and are very conscious of the fact that political prisoners have spent long years in jails and internment camps rather than give undertakings of the kind referred to here.

On the other stage Nelson Mandela has been in prison for 26 years. Now in his 71st year he could have secured release at any time since 1975 if he had made a dishonourable declaration such as that accepted unanimously by Free State Sinn



• Nelson Mandela. He could have secured release at any time since 1975 by taking such an oath.

Féin on January 29. Around the world he is honoured and at home in South Africa he is recognised as the Father of his people.

Similarly Republicans have lost their jobs down the years and continue to be excluded from employment because they will not swallow such oaths or pledges. This applies to all people in state or semi-state employment.

For Sinn Féin Poblachtach the Declaration of the First Dáil (already quoted) and the Oath of Allegiance taken by all Deputies and IRA Volunteers in 1919 still stand: "... to support and defend the Irish Republic and the Government of the Irish Republic, which is Dáil Éireann (32 Counties) against all enemies foreign and domestic ...".

In a national liberation struggle any other course begins in compromise with the enemy — and these have been listed — and ends in the situation of the Workers Party: complete capitulation on the national issue. Watch how it unfolds — step by step!

GEORGE PLANT RAILROADED

'GEORGE PLANT and the Rule of Law - the Devereaux Affair 1940-42' is the title of an article in the 1988 *Tipperary Historical Journal*, written by a Tipperary teacher, Michael Moroney.

For readers too young to remember these events this article explains how George Plant, a Protestant from St. Johnstown, Fethard, Co. Tipperary and an IRA veteran of the Tan War and the counter-revolution that followed, was executed by the Fianna Fáil regime under de Valera in March 1942. He was charged with the shooting of suspected IRA informer, Michael Devereaux, from Wexford.

VINDICTIVENESS

De Valera's government pursued George Plant with a unique vindictiveness using an emergency order (No. 41F) to bring him and two others before the military court after they were discharged from the Special (non-jury) Court. Defence Counsel, Seán MacBride, argued in vain that it was a fundamental rule of law that a person could not be put in jeopardy twice for the same offence.

Any pretence of justice or the rule of

law was discarded by de Valera as he used the emergency declared during World War 2 to bring in a Military Court, comprised of three military officers. If a person was found guilty before this court it could only impose a death sentence, and no appeal was possible.

Another order (No. 139) was introduced, again for the purpose of the trial, to compel the military court to disregard the normal rules of evidence so that false statements could be presented by the prosecution. This over-riding of any semblance of law produced the desired result - George Plant, Patrick Davern and Michael Walsh were sentenced to be shot by firing squad.

The Fianna Fáil cabinet met on March 2, commuted the death sentences on Walsh and Davern and three days later George Plant was taken to Portlaoise Jail from Mountjoy and executed by a squad of military policemen. Six years later his remains were exhumed and re-interred at St. Johnstown, Fethard, in his native Tipperary.

Much more detail and biographical material is contained in the article in the *Tipperary Historical Journal*. It is on sale in Greene's Bookshop, Clare Street, Dublin 2 (price £10).

Student Unrest

A COMPREHENSIVE eight-page document was submitted to the Free State cabinet at a press conference in Dublin on January 24 last by the Union of Students in Ireland outlining several anomalies in the Third Level grant system and honours requirements.

The Union's President, Tadhg Daly, informed the media that the USI would be seeking urgent meetings with the ministers involved and that "we will be prepared to back this up with demonstrative action, should there be no sign of movement."

Much of USI's criticism is focused on the means test. It points to the fact that the average man with two children is outside the means test limits. A family with two children must earn less than £ 12,000 to get any sort of grant, whereas in Britain the figure is stg. £ 19,000.

The whole notion of a grant scheme is that all tax-payers contribute to allow those persons who are most able to go to college. The system at present places most of the burden on the students and their parents, and discriminates heavily against the children of unemployed parents or PAYE tax-payers, going to college.

The voice of Irish students, *USI News*, in its Editorial, (January) suggests that wealth and land tax which are traditional forms of revenue in most western countries, are almost non-existent in Ireland. Tony O'Reilly, Smurfit, Humphrey, Goodman and so on should pay a lot more to balance the Irish economy.

USI also suggest that the 2/4 honours requirement for third level grants serves no educational value, and is a waste of tax-payers' money. Mr. Daly said "the two honours needed for VEC grants and the four honours under the £ 27m Higher Education Grants Scheme could be amalgamated to save money."

Peter MacMenamin of the Teachers Union of Ireland and Elizabeth Quinn of the National Parents Council supported USI in these matters and called for changes in this unfair system.

AGMS

COMHAIRLE NA MUMHAN

MUNSTER delegates elected the following Officers Board for 1989 at their recent AGM:

Cathaoirleach Tom Sullivan (Co. Thiobraid Árann), *Rúnaí* Emer O'Connor (Co. Luimnigh), *Cisteoir* Mick O'Connell (Co. an Chláir), *OCF* Tomás Ó Maoileoin (Co. Thiobraid Árann), *Oideachas* Margaret Scanlon (Co. Chiarraí), *Óige* John Foran (Co. Chiarraí), *Ard Chomhairle* Delegates Brian Smullen, Mick Hegarty.

COMHAIRLE ULADH

THE AGM of Comhairle Uladh was held on November 27 last. The following Officers were elected by the delegates from the nine counties of Ulster: *Cathaoirleach* Cllr. Éamon Larkin (Bearna Uladh), *Rúnaí* Eamon Ó Mathúna (An t-Iúir), *Cisteoir* Liam Mínnagh (An Cabhán), *OCF* Mick Donegan (Bearna Uladh), *Óige* Séamas Ó h-Anluain (An Dún), *Oideachas* Eamon Ó Mathúna, *Rialtas Aitiúil* Tomás Ó Lonergáin, *Ard Chomhairle* Delegates Mick McManus (Fear Manach), Geraldine Taylor (Béal Feirste).

50 YEARS AGO:

The IRA Campaign in England 1939-40

THROUGHOUT FEBRUARY 1939 the Sabotage Campaign, begun in England by the Irish Republican Army the previous month, continued. On February 3, explosions took place at Left Luggage offices in Leicester Square and Tottenham Court Road Underground Stations in London; four incendiary bombs were set off at targets in Coventry the next day while an attempt was made to break the outer wall of Walton Prison, Liverpool. In London the following week further incendiary bombings took place.

According to the 'S' Plan for the campaign, public services and especially transport, electricity supplies and the "Royal Mail" - in which the English Establishment prided itself greatly - were the main targets of operations. The objective of the campaign as stated in the Ultimatum delivered to the British Foreign Secretary in January was of course to secure British military evacuation from Ireland and the issuing of a Declaration of Abdication with regard to this country.

Panic grew in England and scores of Irishmen and women were arrested. The finding of a copy of the *Wolfe Tone Weekly* (edited by Brian O'Higgins and published by Joe Clarke) or of a Republican pamphlet in raids on their homes or lodgings was sufficient to have them associated with the bombings and fires that went on all over England.

CONSPIRACY

The first sentences to be handed down by British courts to the new generation of Irish Republican activists were in Falkirk in Scotland during February. Terence J. MacSherry from North Leitrim received 10 years penal servitude for (i) "conspiracy

to steal" explosives and (ii) possessing explosive substances while Samuel Kennedy received 5 years also for "conspiracy to steal" explosives.

They were to be followed over the next year and a half by close on one hundred faithful Irish men and women who were sentenced to savage terms of imprisonment because of their love of Ireland and their desire to see her free. And two of them were to make the supreme sacrifice.

It will be of interest that operations were confined to England itself and the

French, German, Italian and United States Governments, copies of both were to be sent to the Scottish National Party, the Welsh Nationalist Party, the British Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party and the Civil Liberties Councils in Belfast, England and the United States.

Part 2 (d) (i) of the Plan reads: "The Scottish and Welsh Nationalist Parties will be assured of the sympathetic interest of Ireland in their aspirations and of the abiding affection of the Irish people for them as kindred of a common race.

Further Part 2 (d) (ii) states: "The two Labour Parties will be assured of the sympathy of the democratic Irish Republic with their efforts for the betterment of the conditions of the English people, with whom the people of Ireland have no quarrel except in so far as by acquiescence in the actions of their government, they assume - admittedly wholly undesired - a degree of responsibility for its conduct."

The attitude of the Irish Republican Army to the people of England was placed on record officially in the formal Ultimatum of January 12:

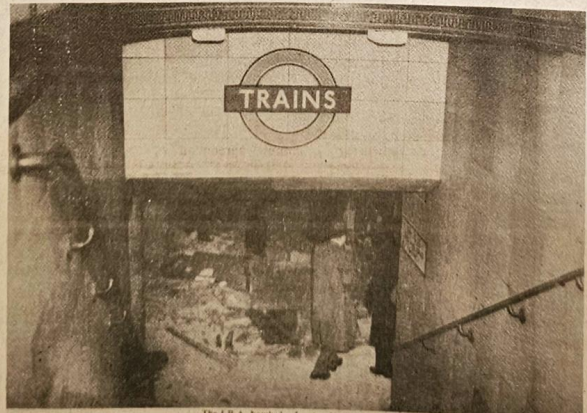
"Neither the Government of the Irish Republic (ie the Army Council which had delegated to it the executive powers of the government by the faithful Deputies of the Second Dáil Eireann the previous December) nor the Irish People are actuated by any feelings of hostility to the people of Britain.

"Rather would we welcome a better understanding but this can be brought about only on the basis that each of the two peoples is absolutely free to pursue its own course unhampered by the other."

In other words the only enemy was British policy towards Ireland and those who framed and implemented that policy, the English Ruling Class and its agents.

Fifty years ago this month unpaid and unselfish Irish soldiers - men and women - were once more laying their lives and liberties on the line in the heart of enemy territory for the national liberation of Ireland.

(Refs. "The Trial of Peter Barnes and Others" by Letitia Fairfield 1953 and "The Wolfe Tone Annual" 1950. More next month.)



The I.R.A. bombed a London Underground.

only activities in Scotland and Wales were of a planning and supply nature.

'S' PLAN

The 'S' Plan was specific on this point. In addition to sending copies of the Ultimatum and Proclamation to the

"Assurance will be given also that there can be no enmity between these people and ours and that no conflict of opinion or loyalty can eventuate unless in these countries their own best national interests are subordinated to alien imperialistic interests."

An Taisce Acts as British Agent

IT APPEARS THAT Margaret Thatcher's restrictions on standing for election in the Six Counties have been borrowed by the administrators of the Tailors Guild Hall, Back Lane in Dublin's Liberties to deny facilities to Sinn Féin Poblachtach for a pageant commemorating the 70th Anniversary of the First Dáil Éireann.

After accepting a booking by phone on December 3 last the administrator, John Toettcher, responded with the letter shown here (right) on December 15. He is employed by An Taisce ('The National Trust for Ireland') who were given the lease of the Tailors Guild Hall by Dublin Corporation in 1984.

The chairperson of An Taisce, Consuelo O'Connor (sister of Carmencita Hederman), admitted to the *Sunday Press* on December 18 that the decision to refuse the Hall had not been taken at a Committee meeting.

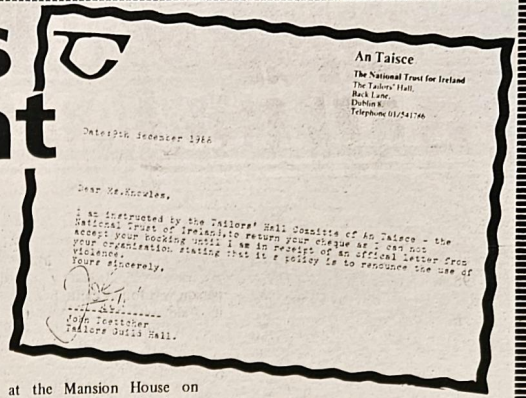
Cathleen Knowles, Ard Rúnaí of Sinn

Féin Poblachtach asked Mr. Toettcher, in further correspondence, dated January 7, when it had become the policy of An Taisce to request denunciations of 'violence' from applicants wishing to rent Tailors Hall. No answer has been received to date.

It is supremely ironic that Republicans are to be excluded from the Tailors Guild Hall as it was the meeting place of Wolfe Tone and the members of the Catholic Committee in the early 1790s. They were dubbed 'The Back Lane Parliament' by the Ascendancy Parliament in College Green.

The Dublin Society of the United Irishmen also held meetings there and one of the rooms in the recently renovated building is called the 'Wolfe Tone Room'.

An Taisce has a membership of over 6,000 in the 26 Counties but it is not clear whether any were consulted about their new politically-inspired booking policy either.



Speaking at the Mansion House on January 21 Dáithí Ó Conaill, Leas-Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, said: "There are others who purport to serve the interests of the Irish people but who, in effect, wish that Independence was never declared and fought for. Such an element controls An Taisce as was demonstrated by their refusal to allow a pageant in honour of the First Dáil being staged in Tailors Hall.

CONTROLLING ELEMENT

"Many Republicans did trojan work to prevent Tailors Hall becoming a derelict eyecore in the 1960s and it is ironic

that the controlling element of that centre should today act as agents of British government policy in the 26 Counties.

"We have asked An Taisce if there is any significance in the fact that their recent request to Sinn Féin Poblachtach to renounce physical force was similar to the decision of the British government to demand a declaration of non-violence from candidates seeking election in the Six Counties. Republicans are good at doing trojan work but we will not tolerate trojan horses."

Death Squads in Guatemala

CONTRARY to the Guatemalan military authority statements in respect of the improved situation of Human Rights in the Central American state, latest reports indicate that abuses and violations are in fact increasing. One of the latest violations came to light in a report from the Comité Pro Justicia y Pay de Guatemala (CPJPG), Committee for Justice in Guatemala.

On October 14 last Carlos Martinez Godoy, trade-union leader of the employees of the International Bank and member of the trade-union Federation of Bank and Insurance employees, was abducted and assassinated by one of Guatemala's notorious military/police death squads.

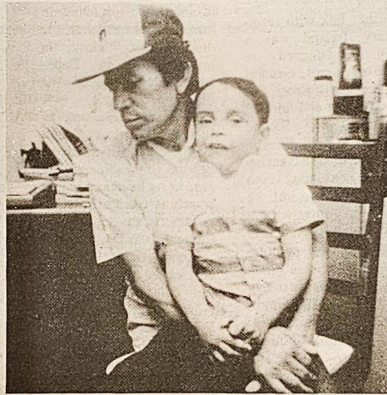
This latest killing followed an announcement made by the victim, Martinez Godoy, that his organisation would support a strike by employees of the Army Bank. This is not the first time that trade-union activities have been targeted by these death squads.

CHILD SHOT

In May 1986, an attempt was made on the life of José Mercedes Sortz, who three months earlier had been abducted by military agents in plain clothes. Their attempt failed but Sortz's child was shot in the incident and is since paralysed. Party members of the Central Municipal Workers Union, (Sindicato Central de Trabajadores Municipales), have been continuing targets of Human Rights violations.

AMNESTY

In 1986, President Vin-



● José Mercedes Sortz pictured with his son, who was paralysed in an attempt on his father's life, in May 1986. Cerezo in a military-promulgated amnesty granted immunity to all those responsible for 'political crimes and related common crimes' committed under his predecessor, General Efraim Rios Montt's administration. But according to Amnesty International's latest report there have been numerous violations of the amnesty agreement.

University student, Deb-ora Carolina Vasquez Velasquez, was abducted in April 1987 and driven directly to Justo Rifino Barrios (Military Barracks) in Guatemala City, where she was held and tortured for 9 days. At no time did the military admit to her detention. Carlos Perer Oscar also was abducted by men linked with the municipality of Guatemala City and suffered similar treatment at the hands of his captors.

FOUND DEAD

A great majority of those abducted during 1987 were either found dead or simply 'disappeared'. Alma America Garrido de Girón, schoolteacher, was 'taken' by four armed, plain-clothes men on January 14. Three days later her battered body was discovered. An autopsy report indicated she was tortured to death. In October, two agronomists, Danilo Sergio Alvarado Mejia and Rene Haroldo Leiva Caxaj met with the same fate.

Also in October, three members of a Peasant League were abducted by members of the Guatemala military near Suchitepequez and taken to a local military base. The body of one, Manuel Chin Bosos, was found early in November. The other two are still 'missing'.

CALL TO UN

The World Organisation Against Torture, has called on Under-Secretary General of the United Nations, M. Jan Martensson requesting that he take all necessary steps to put an end to this brutal activity in Guatemala by these 'death squads' to safeguard the fundamental rights and lives of workers and trade-union leaders. The organisation also appeals to all concerned with human rights to voice their protest by writing personally to:

S.E. Vinicio Cerezo, Presidente, De la República de Guatemala, Palacio Nacional, Guatemala or Sr. Juan José Peralta, Ministro Del Interior, Guatemala.

COMHAIRLE CHÚIGE LAIGHEAN

AT the AGM of the above body during December the following officers were elected for 1989 from Leinster: Cathaoirleach Niall Ó Faogáin (Co. na Mí), Rúnaí Kathleen Sheil (Co. BÁC), Cisteoir Paddy Kerr (Dún Dealgán), OCP John Horan (BÁC), Ard Chomhairle Delegates Niall Ó Faogáin, Pádraic Mac Mháthúna.

COMHAIRLE CHUIGE CHONNACHT

AT the AGM of Comhairle Chúige Chonnacht on November 20 last the delegates elected the following officers:

Cathaoirleach Seán Ó Loinsigh (Longfort), Rúnaí Deaglán Ó Cuirín (Liat-roim), Cisteoir Uinseann Ó Dochartaigh (Sligeach), OCP Antoine de Bhaillís (Gaillimh), Oideachais Séamus Ó Náraigh (Gaillimh), Oige Dáithí Seoighe (Gaillimh), Delegates to the Ard Chomhairle Séamus Ó Náraigh, Uinseann Ó Dochartaigh.

TRAGEDIES OF KERRY

DOROTHY Macardle's story of sorrow and glory is now available to readers in the USA and Canada. Send your orders to PO Box 1053, South Orange, New Jersey 07079, USA.

Leitrim Watch

THE RECENT announcement of the launching of a Neighbourhood Watch scheme in Manorhamilton, Co. Leitrim must be viewed with unease, "because of the many far-reaching implications involved", the Leitrim Comhairle Ceantair of Sinn Féin Poblacht feels.

In a statement they say: "This scheme encourages the public to increase their vigilance towards the affairs of others and in so doing become the eyes and

ears of the Gardaí. All this in an area accepted as having a low crime rate. The inevitable outcome of this must be that many people will be duped into becoming informants of one kind or another, an activity shunned by most".

The statement goes on: "While we consider the protection and well-being of the elderly and the most vulnerable in our community to be of paramount importance, we are confident that the Sligo/

Leitrim District has sufficient numbers of Gardaí on the ground to protect those in need and suppress any criminal elements.

"Perhaps if less of their time was devoted to harassing Republicans and in collaborating with the British forces along the border, there would be no need to initiate a local spy network in Leitrim or anywhere else for that matter", the statement concludes.

Ard Chomhairle mem-

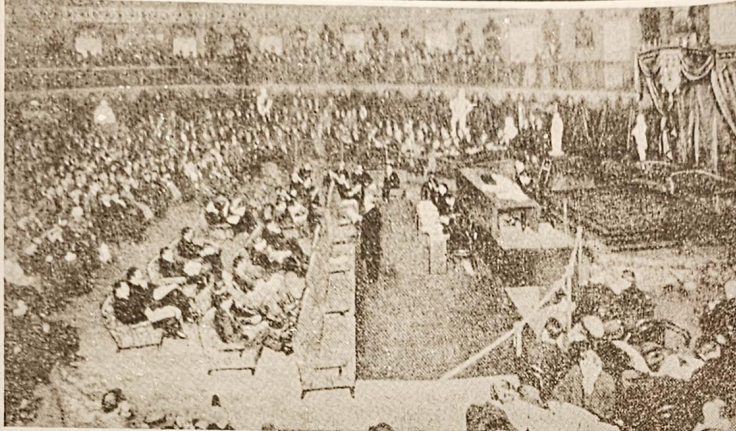
ber, Declan Curneen of Gleneade, Co. Leitrim in a follow-up letter to the editor of the *Donegal Democrat* on January 27 last, stated that the 'Diaries' columnist in that paper had once again attempted to misrepresent what their position was.

DIVERSION

He pointed out that 'Neighbourhood Watch' was a scheme designed to cover-up the diversion for many years of Gardaí to collaboration along the British-imposed Border, to the detriment of the security of elderly people in rural areas.

FIRST DÁIL ÉIREANN 1919

ALL-IRELAND DEMOCRATIC A



● The first session of the First Dáil Éireann — Seats had been prepared for 105 members. Cathal Brugha is Ceann Comhairle and Count Plunkett is reading the Message to the Free Nations of the World.
Le Ruairí Ó Conchúir

AS JANUARY 21, 1989 came closer it became obvious that Sinn Féin Poblachtach were going to be the only organisation to honour Ireland's Declaration of Independence in a public ceremony on the streets of Dublin.

By the eve of the 70th Anniversary of the First Dáil Éireann all the 26-County political parties had admitted they were not going to mark the event. Without doubt this was a very logical decision given the differences between Leinster House and its origins and the truly democratic and all-Ireland assembly which first met in the Mansion House, Dublin on the afternoon of January 21, 1919.

The establishment media when he started to refer to the ceremonies about to begin at the Mansion House. Anything except trying to explain why Republicans were the only people marking what should be our Independence Day, if we had a Free Ireland!

The re-enactment ceremony began shortly after 1pm outside the Mansion House with a platform for the speakers and guest-of-honour Katie B. Keane,

niece of the 1916 leader Seán Mac Diarmada. Katie travelled from Killyclogher, Co. Leitrim for the day and enjoyed it immensely.

Another link with revolutionary Ireland was a statement delivered on behalf of Comdt. General Tom Maguire of Cross, Co. Mayo, the last and faithful survivor of the Second (All-Ireland) Dáil Éireann 1921. Due to his advancing years he was unable to travel in person but he sent his greetings to Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

Reflecting the predominant use of the Irish language on the first day of the First Dáil Comdt. General Maguire stated: "Bhí muintir na hÉireann aontaithe ag an am sin. Thug siad lán tacaíocht do Oglagh na hÉireann, do Chumann na mBan, Fianna Éireann agus do Shinn Féin. I stair na hÉireann níor tharla a leithéid riamh

roimhe sin.

"Ach, farao gear, thréigh ceannairí áirithe na hÉireann Poblacht na hÉireann. Ghlacadar le tír roinnte, le spleáchas in ionad neamhspleách na hÉireann. "Tá ár dtír, Éireann, ag fulaingt ó shoin, agus beidh sí do dtíofaídh an lá ina mbeadh saoirse iomlán na hÉireann bainte amach ag Gaeil arís. Agus tiocfaidh an lá sin, le Cúnamh Dlíis Dé."

Comdt. General Maguire also called for an end to the continuing collaboration which was assisting England in its task of completing the conquest of Ireland.

The re-enactment began in front of several hundred people gathered at the Mansion House with the reading of the Declaration of Independence in Irish. In 1919 the speaker was the Ceann Comhairle and later Minister of Defence in the First Dáil, Cathal Brugha (TD for Co. Waterford):

"De bhí gur dual do mhuintir na hÉireann bheith ina saor náisiún..."

Cathal Brugha pointed out to the assembled elected representatives, press and the public what this Declaration meant: "We are now done with England," he said. Séan Ó Sé, Dublin, read this document and Cathleen Knowles, Ard-Rúnaí, continued with the English version.

TRILINGUAL OCCASION

The text was next read in French by Séan Ó Brádaigh. The first meeting of the First Dáil Éireann was a trilingual occasion,

Declaration of Independence

Whereas the Irish people is by right a free people:

And Whereas for seven hundred years the Irish people has never been free and has repeatedly protested in arms against foreign usurpation:

And Whereas English rule in this country is, and always has been, a fraud and maintained by military occupation against the people:

And Whereas the Irish Republic was proclaimed in Dublin on Easter Day, 1916, by the Irish Republican Army acting on behalf of the Irish people:

And Whereas the Irish people is resolved to secure and maintain its independence in order to promote the common weal, to provide for future defence, to insure peace at home and goodwill with our neighbours and to constitute a national policy based upon the people's will and equal opportunity for every citizen:

And Whereas at the threshold of a new era in history the Irish people, at the General Election of December, 1918, seized the first opportunity of an overwhelming majority its firm allegiance to the Irish Republic:

Now, therefore, we, the elected Representatives of the ancient National Parliament assembled, do, in the name of the Irish people, establish the Irish Republic and pledge ourselves and our successors to this declaration effective by every means at our command:

We ordain that the elected Representatives of the Irish people shall make laws binding on the people of Ireland, and that the Irish people shall only Parliament to which that people will give its allegiance:

We solemnly declare foreign government in Ireland to be an invasion of our right which we will never tolerate, and we demand the evacuation of Ireland by the English Garrison:

We claim for our national independence the recognition and support of the nations in the world, and we proclaim that independence to be a condition of international peace hereafter:

In the name of the Irish people we humbly commit our destiny to the God who gave our fathers the courage and determination to persevere through centuries of a ruthless tyranny, and strong in the justice of the cause have handed down to us, we ask His divine blessing on this struggle we have pledged ourselves to carry through to Freedom.

French and English being used to address the outside world.

The First Dáil had prepared a Message to the Free Nations of the World which called on them to support the Irish Republic and demanded to be confronted with England at the Peace Congress in Europe, which had opened in Paris on January 18, 1919, so that the world might guarantee Ireland's national independence.

As we now know, the "Big Four" powers of the USA, Britain, France and Italy had already agreed not to admit the case of any small nationality without their unanimous consent so Ireland's delegates to the Peace Conference never got a hearing.

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach read this document at the 70th Anniversary re-enactment. The final document adopted by the First Dáil was the Democratic Programme which outlined the social and economic aims of a free Ireland taking its starting point from the words of Pádraig Mac Piarais when he stated that all right to

private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare.

Councillor Frank McCarr, Glens of Antrim, read the Democratic Programme.

STILL TO BE IMPLEMENTED

Dáithí Ó Conaill, leas-Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, addressing the crowd said that "Republicans, who put principle before expediency, believe that the Democratic Programme and Declaration of Independence of January 21, 1919 are bodies of truth to be implemented for the good and welfare of all the people of Ireland. Towards that task let us bend our will."

He reminded the attendance of the mandate given to the members of the First Dáil by the General Election of December 1918, which was the last time the Irish people acted as a unit to demonstrate their democratic right to full freedom and sovereignty.

The Leinster House political parties looked on the First Dáil as a forgotten memory unworthy of

Democratic Programme

We declare in the words of the Irish Republican Proclamation the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be indefeasible, and in the language of our first President, Pádraig Mac Piarais, we declare that the Nation's sovereignty extends not only to all men and women of the Nation, but to all its material possessions, the Nation's soil and all its resources, all the wealth and all the wealth-producing processes within the Nation, and with him we reaffirm that all rights to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare.

We declare that we desire our country to be ruled in accordance with the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Justice for all, which alone can secure permanence of Government in the willing adhesion of the people.

We affirm the duty of every man and woman to give allegiance and service to the Commonwealth, and declares it the duty of the Nation that every citizen shall have opportunity to spend his or her strength and faculties in the service of the people. In return for willing service, we, in the name of the Republic, declare the right of every citizen to an adequate share of the Nation's labour.

It shall be the first duty of the Government of the Republic to make provision for the physical, mental and spiritual well-being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food, clothing, or shelter, but that all shall be provided with the means and facilities requisite for their proper education and training as Citizens of a Free and Gaelic Ireland.

It shall be the duty of the Republic to adopt all measures necessary for the recreation and invigoration of our industries, and to ensure their being developed on the most beneficial and progressive co-operative and industrial lines. With the adoption of an extensive Irish Consular Service, trade with foreign Nations shall be revived on terms of mutual advantage and goodwill, and while undertaking the organisation of the Nation's trade, import and export, it shall be the duty of the Republic to prevent the shipment from Ireland of food and other necessities until the wants of the Irish people are fully satisfied and the future provided for.

It shall also devolve upon the National Government to seek co-operation of the Governments of other countries in determining a standard of Social and Industrial Legislation with a view to a general and lasting improvement in the conditions under which the working classes live and labour. The Irish Republic fully realises the necessity of abolishing the present odious, degrading and foreign Poor Law System, substituting therefor a sympathetic native scheme for the care of the Nation's aged and infirm, who shall not be regarded as a burden, but rather entitled to the Nation's gratitude and consideration. Likewise it shall be the duty of the Republic to take such measures as will safeguard the health of the people and ensure the physical as well as the moral well-being of the Nation.

It shall be our duty to promote the development of the Nation's resources, to increase the productivity of its soil, to exploit its mineral deposits, peat bogs, and fisheries, its watersheds and harbours, in the interests and for the benefit of the Irish people.

LAST ASSEMBLY

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ublin on Easter Monday, 1916, Irish people:

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the Irish electorate has in the st occasion to declare by an Republic:

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our destiny to Almighty God to persevere through long tice of the case which they on this the last stage of the Freedom.

Fianna Eireann and more bearers carrying 1798, 1848, Fenian, 1916, 1969 flags and the French Tricolour, the latter to mark the 200th Anniversary this year of the French Revolution, and that country's links with Republican Ireland.

Next came piper Larry O'Dowd from Sligo and the men and women of the Clonbony Pipe Band from Co. Clare who together added music and colour to the parade as it made its way from Dawson Street into Nassau Street, Dame Street, College Green and over O'Connell Bridge. The marchers halted at Liberty Hall on Eden Quay where the parade fell out.

The second part of the day's celebrations was organised by the National Commemoration Committee at 3pm in the Cultúr-lann in Monkstown, to where the crowd then made their way by car, DART and Bus.

LÁN GO DORAS

At this stage the Cultúr-lann's fine theatre and balcony was 'lán go doras' with people who had travelled from all parts of the country.

With music from Seán O Riada's 'Saoirse' and the fine voices of Eithne Dempsey, Jim Bartley, Seán Campion and Christopher Neary the pageant traced the Republican struggle through the flags of Insurrection displayed and the successful culmination in the establishment of the First Dáil Eireann. The narrator concluded with these inspiring and fitting words:

"Dáil Eireann elected in 1919 and again in 1921 was never prorogued, never dismissed by the people, superseded by two other parliaments, against the will of the majority; legally it exists even if only in memory and folk-history and in the deep desires of a resurgent nation.

"None of those involved in that First Dáil Eireann are with us today, but let us stand in tribute and salute them, for they represent to us and to the Nation, the foundation stone of the Republic, which lives today, vibrant as it was then, sovereign and indivisible."



As a tribute to Tomás Mac Anna's efforts for the Republican Movement and the Irish Nation a parchment scroll was presented to him after the pageant by Ruairí O Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

REVOLUTIONARY AID FROM FRANCE

A commemorative talk with music was the next item on stage at the Cultúr-lann, delivered by Seán O Brádaigh. To mark the 200th Anniversary of the French Revolution, he outlined the inspiration that 1789 had for Republicans in Ireland and the efforts of the Revolutionary French Republic to aid

Ireland, most directly in the 1796 and 1798 expeditions of Generals Hoche and Humbert:

"Erin's sons be not faint-hearted, Welcome, sing then Ca ira From Killala they are marching, To the tune of Viva la! "They come, they come, see myriads come, of Frenchmen to relieve us; Seize, seize the pike, beat, beat the drum They come, my friends, to save us."

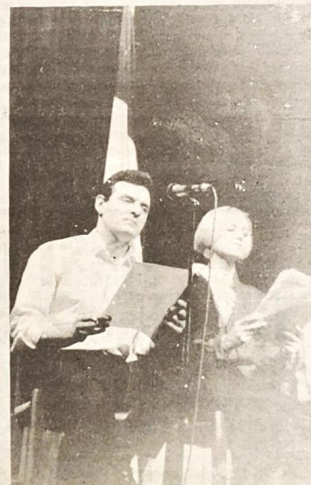
STILL STRUGGLE

Seán O Brádaigh reminded those present that "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity are noble ideals which

still inspire us and for which we still struggle, both North and South of the British-created Border."

The afternoon's events were brought to an appropriate conclusion with some great traditional music from Aine Ní Dhúill, Marie Askin, Fidelma King and Marina Myler. Alas, the time went far too quickly.

All the events were video-taped and will shortly be available for those who would like a permanent souvenir and record of what was an uplifting and morale-boosting day.



Christopher Neary and Eithne Dempsey, pictured on stage during the pageant.

Seán O Brádaigh, delivering his speech at the Cultúr-lann.

Message to the free Nations of the World

To the Nations of the World! Greeting. The Nation of Ireland having proclaimed her national independence, calls through her elected representatives in Parliament assembled in the Irish Capital on January 21st, 1919, upon every free nation to support the Irish Republic by recognising Ireland's national status and her right to its vindication at the Peace Congress.

Nationally, the race, language, the customs and traditions of Ireland are radically distinct from the English. Ireland is one of the most ancient nations in Europe, and she has preserved her national integrity, vigorous and intact, through seven centuries of foreign oppression: she has never relinquished her national rights, and throughout the long era of English usurpation she has in every generation defiantly proclaimed her inalienable right of nationhood down to her last glorious resort to arms in 1916.

Internationally, Ireland is the gateway of the Atlantic: Ireland is the last outpost of Europe towards the West: Ireland is the point upon which great trade routes between East and West converge: her independence is demanded by the Freedom of the Seas: her great harbours must be open to all nations instead of being the monopoly of England. Today these harbours are empty and idle solely because English policy is determined to retain Ireland as a barren bulwark for English aggrandisement, and the unique geographical position of this island, far from being a benefit and safeguard to Europe and America, is

subjected to the purposes of England's policy of world domination.

Ireland today reasserts her historic nationhood the more confidently before the new world emerging from the War, because she believes in freedom and justice as the fundamental principles of international law, because she believes in a frank co-operation between the peoples for equal rights against the vested privileges of ancient tyrannies, because the permanent peace of Europe can never be secured by perpetuating military domination for the profit of empire but only by establishing the control of government in every land upon the basis of the free will of a free people, and the existing state of war between Ireland and England, can never be ended until Ireland is definitely evacuated by the armed forces of England.

For these among other reasons, Ireland - resolutely and irrevocably determined at the dawn of the promised era of self-determination and liberty that she will suffer foreign domination no longer - calls upon every free nation to uphold her nation claim to complete independence as an Irish Republic against the arrogant pretensions of England founded in fraud and sustained only by an overwhelming military occupation, and demands to be confronted publicly with England at the Congress of Nations, in order that the civilised world having judged between English wrong and Irish right may guarantee to Ireland its permanent support for the maintenance of her national independence.

PARADE After the re-enactment ceremony the crowd fell into line for the parade. It was led by a 12-strong National Plough carrying the National Plough. Behind them were uniformed contingents from Cumann na mBan, Na



Funeral of Kevin Agnew

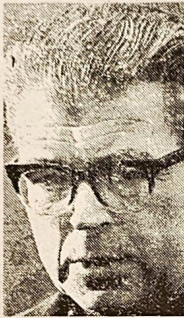
In reference to the funeral of Mr. Kevin Agnew, Maghera, on the 20th December last I wish to state the following because of apparent public misunderstanding: I was not prevented by the parish priest of Maghera from concelebrating the Requiem Mass. Nor did I say, as reported in some southern papers, that it was the wish of Mr. Agnew that only I should celebrate the Mass.

Mr. Agnew's written will, dated the 8th December 1988, stated: "The Mass and Burial ceremony are to be officiated by Fr. Piaras Ó Dúill, Dublin". This was explicitly repeated by him, according to his family, as he lay on his sick bed, so that there was no doubt as to his wishes and the family assumed that the Mass and Burial ceremony were to be carried out in accordance with the above stipulations. It was not to be so.

The parish priest of Maghera was fully aware of the instructions and family wishes. He was informed of these when the funeral arrangements were being discussed with the family. He did not tell the family at any time that their wishes could not be adhered to. Nor did he refer to any difficulty about the specifications of the will when I paid him a courteous visit at the presbytery on the morning of the funeral. Much of the confusion, if not the family dismay, could have

been avoided had the family been dutifully consulted. Only when the ceremony in the church had begun — and only then — did the bereaved family comprehend a roughshod ride over the will and wishes of the deceased.

We, the clergy, like to preach aloud that you, the people, are the Church. Where, ask many, is the evidence? Many were shocked by the boorish manner in which this funeral was handled by the Church and by the state that day. This was no "paramilitary funeral". Mr. Agnew was a very respected member of the



● Fr. Piaras Ó Dúill

community and of the legal profession. The only redeeming factor of the day was the presence of many mourners of other denominations some of whom protested strongly when the forces of the state were lined up in the precincts of the church to prevent the funeral cortege from passing through the main street of Maghera. The forcing of the funeral to flank the hometown of the deceased, where he

was much liked and respected by all sections of the community, was a further affront to the dignity of the occasion.

It was a day of bureaucracy all round in its most sullen form. But the arrogance of Church is most hurtful of all — more especially during family bereavement. For my own part I may be charged with being churlish for refusing to concelebrate the Mass. However, I make no apology for standing with the family instead, who were sorely aggrieved that the spirit of Mr. Agnew's will was completely ignored. Whom else, in the circumstances, should a clergyman identify with?

Fr. Piaras Ó Dúill
O.F.M Cap
Sráid na hEaglaise
Baile Atha Cliath 7

Youth Expulsion

A chara,

I am amazed to read in our national newspapers that the government members are asking our people to subscribe to a so-called fund to send money to help to maintain our young exiles in England. With that money wouldn't it help to give those youths employment in their own country?

It seems to me that the present government wants our youths out of their own country. I have a good idea what the motive is but I shall leave that to readers of SAOIRSE and the general public opinions. With this in mind it is a dreadful shame to see whole parishes with their youth gone, gone for ever many of them, and the way they

were treated in their own country.

Listening to radio and viewing TV we hear of the new employment, but as the commentator goes on to say such and such a factory is being opened and will for a start give employment to 30 workers or in 5 year's time it will employ 100 or more. What an achievement, if that be so, some of our little children will not have to emigrate when they become active for work. I don't accept those statements. Of course we are told "live horse and you'll get grass". For over 800 years we have been brainwashed. Are we to be doomed to another 800 years?

We are told our country is too small to keep our people, what rubbish! Smaller countries than ours can do it so why can't this country. The reason is obvious and it can't be brushed underneath the carpet for ever.

Is mise le meas

John Shaw
Magazine Road
Cork.

Free State Traitors

A chara,

I am glad to see that SAOIRSE is giving prominence to the part played by the free state traitors in the betrayal of our country.

Whilst the main objective of all self-respecting Irish people is to get rid of the English murder gang, every effort should be made to get rid of the traitors whose collaboration with the various imperialist regimes of England has enabled them to par-

tition Ireland and set up puppet regimes, all equally determined to deny the people our sovereign right to freedom and nationhood.

It is of the greatest importance that the true story of the traitors be known throughout Ireland and abroad, the depths people will descend to for money and power. Many people do not even realise that, but for the great betrayal of the "treaty", Ireland may well have been a free Republic today with a real government of the entire people in power.

It must have seemed a hell-sent opportunity to the imperialists to consolidate their grip on the country when the traitorous free states agreed to set up two puppet assemblies to carry out England's orders. This arrangement continues to the present day, which is why we should all do everything in our power to ensure that the traitors' reign be brought to an end as quickly as possible.

Our culture, language and music are also integral parts of our history and inspired the heroic fight for freedom which has continued over eight centuries therefore let us be worthy of our glorious heritage by rededicating ourselves to the ideals of past and present generations who fought and continue to fight for Irish freedom.

An Phoblacht Abú
Séamus Ó Gallcóbhair
Glasgow

Propaganda Titles

A chara,

Putting the Celtic Nations in the front place in



its three-dimensional policy, by Sinn Féin Poblachtach is only as it ought to be. The practice of using such terms as United Kingdom, Britain, British, is insulting to the Nationalist people of Cornwall, Wales, Scotland and Man.

There has never been a country called Britain — just an old Celtic name, used as a propaganda title, for the English state, following the so-called "union" with Scotland in 1707. This "treaty" was illegal, had no mandate, and was forced through under English military threat.

The Scottish aristocracy and some of the middle class agreed to this act of treachery. No wonder Burns described them as "a parcel of rogues in a Nation". The use of the term England, for the English state, should not be hurtful to the decent English people, who are striving to make a clean name for their own country — a venter of respectability which fails to measure up to elementary honesty, is hardly an asset.

Donal Ó Dálaigh
Beanntraí
Co. Chiarraí

FIRST DÁIL: THE LEGACY EXAMINED

"An Chéad Dáil Éireann, 1919 - '21 (agus an Ghaeilge)" le Nollaig Ó Gadhra. Available from Siopa na Poblachta, 21 Shaw Street, Dublin 2. (£ 5.00).

THIS BOOK HAS just been published by Coiscéim to coincide with the 70th anniversary of the first meeting of Dáil Éireann, in the Mansion House, Dublin on 21st January, 1919. Nollaig Ó Gadhra's latest work won a major Literary Award for a book of general interest to Irish readers at the 1988 Oireachtas na Gaeilge.

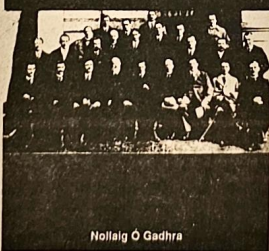
A major full-length history of the coming into being of the first-ever All-Ireland democratic parliament, through the ballot-box, Mr. Ó Gadhra, a Galway-based historian and Lecturer in the Galway Regional College, is particularly pleased that Coiscéim succeeded in publishing the work in time for the 70th anniversary at a time, when, it appears, most sectors of Irish life, (political, media, and academic), seem to have largely ignored the significance of the Founding Fathers of Irish Republican democracy.

DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

The men and women of the First Dáil strove to achieve full Irish freedom through the democratic process, after Britain ignored the clear verdict of the ballot-box, and, instead, introduced a reign of terror, partition, and the toler-

AN CHÉAD DÁIL ÉIREANN (1919-1921)

(AGUS AN GHAELIGE)



Nollaig Ó Gadhra

ation of Orange sectarianism, gerrymander and pogroms against Catholics and Nationalists in the North-East, as part of the effort to deny the Irish right to national self-determination.

The origins and inspiration for these documents are considered, including the inside story of how Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh composed the First Democratic Programme after Michael Collins and some other members of the secret IRB watered down original proposals from the Labour Movement. It was left to Seán T. to write the final draft himself in the early hours of the morning of 21st January and to rush it through the printers in true revol-

utionary haste, before having it adopted, without dissent, on the floor of the House a few hours later.

While the book focuses to some extent on the role of the Irish language, both in terms of its use and in terms of the policies and concerns expressed about it and about the Gaeltacht, by members of the First Dáil, there is also a broad selection of extracts, including some very powerful speeches, that give a continuous insight into the narrative of what the First Dáil Éireann was all about.

FULL RESPONSIBILITY

Special attention is also paid to the degree to which the revolutionary Dáil, and the military activity of the IRA, against the British, were interlinked and the interaction between the two wings of the national Independence struggle. The book considers the decision of the Dáil, in the Spring of 1921, to accept full responsibility for the activities of the Volunteers and the adoption of a proposal that the Government of the Republic should be handed over to a Military Council if the membership of the Dáil fell to a handful. If the British killed or captured the greater majority of Dáil members, then action similar to that which is taken whenever an independent state is invaded by a foreign army, was deemed appropriate.

This, the author suggests, was a move which would have tremendous significance for the future, just as the decision to get the IRA Volunteers as well as Dáil members, to swear an Oath to the Republic they had declared established, became another crucial factor at the outbreak of the Civil War in 1922.

The author also considers the Dáil reaction to the Government of Ireland

Act 1920, the decision of Sinn Féin to participate in the "partition elections" in May, 1921, before the July Truce, and the way in which the Second Republican Dáil came into being as a result of these developments in the summer of 1921.

Ó Gadhra suggests that the leadership did not grasp the full implications of their actions at that time, pointing out that the 124 members of the Second Dáil, who were all returned unopposed during the disturbed circumstances of fighting in May 1921 throughout the South, set an entirely different political game, dictated by the British, even before the Truce, negotiations or Treaty came along.

He makes the point that the people elected in December 1918, as part of the overall 'UK' General Elections, who constituted the First Dáil Éireann, could have remained in office until the November 1922 General Election, which was held not only in Britain but also throughout the Six Counties which had by then been partitioned off from the rest of the country and given its own internal 'Protestant Parliament for a Protestant people' in Belfast.

By then, of course, the non-elected Second Dáil, which had accepted the Treaty by a narrow majority, had also been swept aside by the Civil War, and a new Free State Dáil for the 26 Counties had been established by many of the participants in the First Dáil, and from which Republicans were barred unless they took an Oath of Allegiance to the British Crown . . . No All-Ireland General Election has been held since then. But the legacy and example of the First Dáil Éireann remains . . .

— TOMÁS Ó NEACHTAIN

TESTIMONIAL DANCE

Mary Ward and Mary Kate Coen

SLIGO Republicans honoured two local women at a special Testimonial Dinner Dance in Strandhill on Saturday night, January 14 last. At the function, which was organised by the National Graves Association in Sligo, presentations were made to Mary Kate Coen of Sooley, Co. Sligo and Mary Ward, Cork, and now living in Burtonport, Co. Donegal.

Addressing the 50 guests Vincent O'Doherty, Sligo, said that the Republican Movement could not be proud of how they had treated women in many instances in the past.

He recalled some of the great Republican women in Ireland's history from Mary McCracken, Anne Devlin, Mathilda Tone, Elizabeth O'Farrell to Mary MacSwiney, all of whom had remained true to their ideals throughout their lifetime.

HONOUR

"We have two such women here tonight and as far as we can do it we will see to it that they receive the honour that is due to them," he said.

Ard Chomhairle member from Galway, Séamas Ó Náraithe, also spoke and reminded those in attendance of the personal loss of a loved one suffered by both honorees. Mary Ward's late husband was Pat Ward of Glenahit, Burtonport, Co. Donegal who died on March 7, 1988 at the age of 43.

At his funeral it was said that "he epitomised the true revolutionary Republican". A courageous and disciplined Volunteer, he undertook several lengthy prison hunger strikes in the 1970s which left a permanent mark on his health. Mary

and Pat Ward's daughters Fodhla and Eiru also attended the function.

KEVIN COEN

Mary Kate Coen had seen her son Kevin make the supreme sacrifice for Irish freedom when he was killed in action against British troops at Cassidy's Cross in Co. Fermanagh on January 20, 1975.

Indeed one of Pat Ward's last public acts was to speak at the 13th Anniversary commemoration of Kevin's death in 1988. He spoke over the grave of his comrade despite being in very poor health at the time.

"The commitment and determination shown by soldiers like Kevin Coen and Pat Ward, and Mary Ward and Mary Kate Coen and their families is an inspiration to the rest of us to fight to overcome all obstacles to achieve our goal and their goal - the ending of British occupation and the creation of a Democratic, Federal, Socialist Ireland," he said.

"What better way to build a monument to the memory of our Republican dead than to rebuild our movement so that we can get on and finish the long sought-after and overdue job."

Music was supplied at the function by local group, Éire Nua.



● Séamas Ó Náraithe presenting Mary Ward and Mary Kate Coen with their scrolls of recognition.

COMÓRADH

KEVIN COEN

THE FOLLOWING day, Sunday January 15, the annual Kevin Coen Commemoration was held in Sooley, Co. Sligo.

After last Mass the parade of 50 people formed up and marched from the local church to Sooley Cemetery, led by a three-man colour party and piper Neel Farrell.

Chief marshal was Eamonn Healy, Sligo and Vincent O'Doherty, Ard Chomhairle member, chaired the proceedings at the graveside.

Jimmy Coen laid a wreath on behalf of Vol. Kevin Coen's family. Peadar Murray laid a wreath on behalf of Sinn Féin Poblachtach and Eamon Healy laid a wreath on behalf of Sligo National Graves Association.

Mary Ward (Ard Chomhairle) gave the oration and said that "we who come here to this grave today

have only one purpose in so doing. We do not come to mourn our dead comrade, Kevin Coen, but rather to exult in the fact that Kevin was faithful even unto death and to draw strength from his faith so that we may finish the task which he has left us."

Mary Ward also paid tribute to those other Volunteers from the Riverstown area; Patrick Stenson, murdered by the Free State in 1923, Henry Kelly, murdered by British Forces in 1920 and Tom Sheehan, killed in 1922 by the Free State.

The ceremony concluded with Amhrán na bhFiann played by the lone piper.

John Lawe was a strong supporter of the struggle to free Ireland and Michael Flannery, of Cumann na Saoirse in the USA, and founder member of Irish Northern Aid, paid tribute to this work. He said that John Lawe "was one of our first contributors and one of our first picketers. He was the honoree at the Irish Northern Aid Dinner some years ago and was a stalwart worker for Ire-

land right up to his death." In 1987 he was chosen as Grand Marshal of the New York St. Patrick's Day Parade. He was also honoured by the United Irish Counties in 1986. He was President of the Irish-American Labour Coalition and a strong supporter of the MacBride Principles.

Sincere sympathy is extended to his wife Mary, family and friends. Solas na bhFlaitheas dá anam.

REQUEST

He also requested that Fr. Piaras O Dúill of Dublin officiate at the Mass and burial ceremony. Just as the church ceremony was about to begin Fr. O Dúill was refused - although this had not been objected to when arrangements were made with the parish priest earlier.

Kevin Agnew's son John thanked the people in the church and protested publicly at the exclusion of Fr. O Dúill. Kevin's funeral, like his life, was not uneventful.

Cuimhnéofar air.

COMHBHRÓN

Armagh and Newry.

BROWN, Sincere sympathy is extended to Mike Brown and family, Fenit on the death of his father, Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam. From Emmett Walsh.

FAGAN, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of our dear friend and comrade Liam Fagan, Honorary Life Vice-President of Sinn Féin Poblachtach, of Proleek, Ravensdale, Co. Louth who died on November 30, 1988. From Bearna Uíadh Sinn Féin Poblachtach, South

O'CONNOR, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Con O'Connor, Gortalea, Tralee, who died recently. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a anam. From Emmett Walsh.

KELLIHER, Sincere sympathy is extended to the Dempsey family, Newtownhamilton, Co. Armagh and the Kelliher family, Listowel, Co. Kerry on the death last week of their father. From Bearna Uíadh, Sinn Féin Poblachtach. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a anam.

I gCUIMHNE

FITZSIMONS, Vivienne; **HANLON**, Leo - 16th Anniversary. Killed on active service on 10th February, 1973. Remembered with pride by South Down Martyrs Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Castlewella.

FITZSIMONS, Vivienne; **HANLON**, Leo - 16th Anniversary. Killed on active service on 10th February, 1973. Remembered always by the Peter McNulty Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Killoo.

FITZSIMONS, Vivienne; **HANLON**, Leo - 16th Anniversary. Killed in action, 10th February, 1973. Remembered with pride by the Carlin Family.

McELLIOTT, Vol. Michael - 68th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Michael McElligott, Listowel, County Kerry, who was killed on active service by Crown Forces at Derrymore, County Kerry on February 19, 1921. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam. Always remembered by Comhairle Ceantair Chiarraí, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

McNULTY, Peter - 17th Anniversary. Killed in action 26th January 1972. Remembered by South Down Martyrs Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Castlewella.

McNULTY, Peter - 17th Anniversary. Killed in action 26th January, 1972. Remembered by Peter McNulty Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Killoo.

MURPHY, Vol. Con - 68th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Con Murphy, Rathmore, County Kerry, who was executed in Cork

Jail on February 1, 1921. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a anam. Always remembered by Comhairle Ceantair Chiarraí, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

O'CONNOR, Vol. James; **SINNOTT**, Vol. Michael - 66th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers James O'Connor and Michael Sinnott Tralee, County Kerry, who were murdered at Currahane by the Free State on February 13, 1923. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anamacha. Always remembered by Comhairle Ceantair Chiarraí, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

O'SULLIVAN, Vol. Thomas - 66th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Thomas O'Sullivan, Ballinacraig, County Kerry, who was murdered by the Free State at Ballinacraig on February 18, 1923. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a anam. Always remembered by Comhairle Ceantair Chiarraí, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

SWEENEY, Vol. Michael - 66th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Michael Sweeney, The Bower, County Kerry, who was killed in action at Shrone, County Kerry on February 4, 1923. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a anam. Always remembered by Comhairle Ceantair Chiarraí, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

TAYLOR, Vol. Joseph - 68th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Joseph Taylor Glencar, County Kerry, who was murdered by Black and Tans on February 27, 1921. Ní déanfar dearmad ar go deo. From Comhairle Ceantair Chiarraí, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

Peter McNulty

ON SUNDAY 29 January Republicans of South Down held a commemoration at Bryansford Cemetery to honour the memory of Vol. Peter McNulty who was killed while on active service on the 26 January 1972.

Joe McCrickard said a decade of the Rosary in Irish. Danny Fitzpatrick, Cathaoirleach, after welcoming the crowd, some of whom travelled from South Armagh, called on Oliver Rea to lay a wreath on behalf of South Down Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin Poblachtach. P.J. Travers lowered our national flag while Pádraig Rooney played appropriate airs on the pipes.

After a minute's silence a very moving oration was delivered by Liam Minnagh, Cavan. He traced the history of Republicanism in South Down and the faithfulness of the McNulty family to the ideals of Pearse and Connolly.

In the course of his speech he referred to the number of SDLP members who were so anxious to get the OBE and follow their one-time leader, and founder member to the House of Lords.

Proceedings finished with Amhrán na bhFiann.

John Lawe

IRISH-AMERICANS lost a strong leader and the Transport Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, a great International President with the death on January 5 last of John Lawe, a native of Kilglass, Co. Roscommon. He was 69.

An emigrant from Ireland in 1949, John Lawe worked with the Fifth Avenue Bus Company in New York, later part of the New York City Transit

Authority. Active in the Transport Workers Union. Local 100 from his arrival he rose from shop steward to president of the New York Local (branch).

Kevin Agnew

THE death took place in December of Kevin Agnew, solicitor, Maghera, Co. Derry, after a long illness. He was 75. Kevin was a life-long Republican and for a period in the late 1960s was chairman of the Six-county Civil Rights Association.

As far back as 1950 he was the leading figure in the election campaign for Hugh MacAteer, former Chief-of-Staff, IRA, as a

prisoner candidate in the Derry constituency. The Unionist candidate at the time described Kevin Agnew as "the main spring and the only spring of Sinn Féin" in Co. Derry.

FORTHRIGHTNESS

Kevin will be remembered for his unflinching good humour, his sense of justice and his absolute forthrightness on public occasions, especially in confrontations with the Occupat-

ion Forces. He was a prominent figure at all street demonstrations, protest meetings and marches. An attempt on his life by booby-trapping his car in the late 1970s failed.

In his will he asked that the Tricolour be not removed from his coffin under any circumstances. This was adhered to and the funeral was blocked from Main Street, Maghera - where he spoke at so many public meetings - by a huge deployment of Crown Forces and made to circumvent the town.

Henry J. Abbott, T.D.

DAIL EIREANN
BAILE ATHA CLIATH 2
Dún 2
COTTAGE 3 CURRACK TERRACE,
MULLINGAR,
WICKLOW.
Tel. 0447/2316

9 November, 1988.

DEAR

This is just a note to let you know that I was speaking to my colleague, Mr. Michael O'Kennedy, TD, Minister for Agriculture and Food, regarding your application for a Farm Improvement Grant.

I understand from my colleague that you will receive your grant later this week.

I am glad experience has turned out well for you. If I can be of any assistance to you in the future, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours sincerely,
Albert Reynolds

ALBERT REYNOLDS, TD,
Minister for Industry and Commerce.

Anonn is Anall

BETWEEN December 1987 and October 1988 the Leinster House authorities gave permission for 6,400 military overflights. They say that they have no way of checking on how many of these aircraft were carrying nuclear weapons. So much for protecting Ireland's neutrality!

CLARECASTLE father of three Sean Dooley has won his Circuit Court case against Ennis, Co. Clare, Urban Council. The court ruled that the water charges levied against him between 1983 and 1987 were illegal.

QUILTY, Co. Clare Fianna Fáil passed a motion at their AGM recently "condemning extradition" and calling on the Fianna Fáil administration to "scrap the act".

ACRA says the judgement should hold for the rest of the country and that residents anywhere in the country should challenge the validity of the charges, based on the Clare judgement and another in Athlone in 1985.

GERRY Collins came close to being thumped at a recent Limerick Dáil Comhairle Ceantair meeting over his extradition policies. Our mole says that only some fast talking from the flushed Minister for Searches kept the angry delegates at bay. However most delegates don't consider the debate as being finished just yet.

Mr. Dooley says his victory means that thousands of householders would not now have to pay the water charge. Ennis householders threatened with disconnection of their water supply should immediately seek legal advice and refuse to pay the charges.

THE Garda Complaints Board say that less than two per cent of complaints to them come from criminals. A far cry from the wild claims being made by Jack Marrinan of the Garda Representative Body, on RTE.

THE Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed (INO) has drawn attention to "the announcement of jobs created in companies which are actually laying off workers" saying that what counts is "New jobs available after taking account of job losses". Ray Burke's laughable claim of 20,000 new jobs created in 1988 should be seen in this light.

The following are the winning numbers in the January Draw organised by Comhairle Atha Cliath, Sinn Féin Poblachtach: *First Prize* £100, no. 172; *Second Prize* £50, no. 124; *Third Prize* £25, no. 120; *Five Prizes of* £5, nos. 169, 300, 041, 251, 023. Next Dublin Draw will take place on March 12. Next CABHAIR (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents) draw on February 12.

The results of the recent raffle held by Sinn Féin Poblachtach in London are as follows: *First Prize* £25, Paula McKeever no. 196; *Second Prize* £10; Mrs. A Cousins no. 203; *Third Prize* £5, Patrick Ennis no. 104.

TDs' LETTER

TWO letters have been passed to SAOIRSE from farmers in Co. Longford recently, illustrating just what Leinster House politicians spend most of their time, and our money, doing.

In these (typical) cases the letters were received from Albert Reynolds (then 26-county minister for industry and commerce, now minister for finance) and Henry Abbott, fellow-Fianna Fáil TD for Longford-Westmeath.

The brave Albert tells our informant that he personally spoke to the minister for agriculture, Michael O'Kennedy,



● Albert Reynolds ● Henry Abbott

'TRIBUNE' Answered

SINN FEIN Poblachtach has responded to the unwarranted charges relating to the First Dáil made in the leading article of the *Sunday Tribune* on January 22 last.

The article reflected the revisionist view of the First Dáil - it was a step towards the 26-county Free State.

Republicans of course see the First Dáil as the All-Ireland Democratic Assembly and the 26-county state as the creation of the British Government of Ireland Act 1920, against the wishes of the majority of the Irish people. Leinster House is therefore not the successor of the First Dáil, it represents the overthrow of it by the Free State, backed by Britain.

In a letter to the editor Ruairí Óg O'Brádaigh, Oifigeach Poiblíochta, tackled some of the *Sunday Tribune's* other distortions: "The assertion that the First Dáil at no time gave 'sanction to the IRA campaign' is incorrect. A formal motion accepting a state

of war with England was passed unanimously on March 11, 1921 (see MINUTES pp. 278-79).

"The TDs had already pledged themselves on January 21, 1919 to put the Declaration of Independence into effect by every means in their power.

"On August 20, 1919 an Oath of Allegiance was agreed and later administered to the TDs and the Volunteers of the IRA. It stated, inter alia '... I will support and defend the Irish Republic, which is Dáil Eireann, against all enemies, foreign and domestic...'

"The charge that the War of Independence was an 'unjustified response to the circumstances then prevailing' appears to be based on some self-conceived scale of oppression that only permits physical defence against armed

occupation at some defined point, again known only to yourself.

JUSTIFIED

"In reality the Irish people were fully justified in defending their independence against Britain, who was intent in denying the right of Irish democracy, as expressed in the last All-Ireland election of December 1918. That right still holds today against the same armed occupation forces in the Six Counties.

"As far as the Democratic Programme is concerned its aspirations represented the views of a significant strand in the Independence Movement and among the ordinary workers and farmers who were engaging in land agitation and strikes against the establishment before the First Dáil was set up.

"To describe the use of Irish in an All-Ireland parliament as 'hostile' to Unionists ignores reality again. The Irish language is the heritage of all the

CAITH AN FÁINNE!

CUIREADH tús le feachtais nua chun an Fáinne a chur chun cinn ar fud na h-Eireann ar an 24ú Eanáir seo caite. Dar ndóig is mar chomhartha do dhaoine eile go bhfuil tú breá sásta an Ghaeilge a labhairt a chaitheadh an Fáinne le fada anuas.

D'eagraigh Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge failltú agus ceolchoirm saor in aisce in óstlann i mBaile Atha Cliath ar an oíche

sin. Tá síú acu dhá fhógra 15 shoicind a chraoladh ar RTE ag spreagadh daoine chun an Fáinne a chaitheadh. Tréasláim leis an Chomhdháil as an mbeart seo agus iarraidimid ar gach Poblachtánach agus Eireannach an Fáinne a chaitheadh.

Is féidir an Fáinne a fháil ó Chomhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge, 86 Sráid Ghardnar locht., BAC 1, Uimhir Guthán BAC 365572.

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SUNDAY
FEBRUARY 19
at 3pm
SAINT JOHN THE
BAPTIST CHURCH
(Old Cemetery)

also
REPUBLICAN PLOT
CHURCH OF THE MOST
HOLY ROSARY
MIDDLETON
COUNTY CORK

BIRMINGHAM
SIX
COMMITTEE
PUBLIC MEETING
Mansion House
DUBLIN
Friday, February 17
Speakers:
Michael Mansfield
(1987 Appeal Counsel)
Paddy McEntee SC
Eideen Heussaff